Spring 2020

The People's Planning Initiative of Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation

Cassondra Y. White
Merrimack College, whitecy@merrimack.edu

The People's Planning Initiative of Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation

Cassondra Y. White

Merrimack College

2020

MERRIMACK COLLEGE

CAPSTONE PAPER SIGNATURE PAGE

CAPSTONE SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

CAPSTONE TITLE: The People's Planning Initiative of Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation

AUTHOR: Cassondra Y. White

THE CAPSTONE PAPER HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT.

Audrey Falk, Ed.D. DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT	Audrey Falk SIGNATURE	May 4, 2020 DATE
Melissa Nemon, Ph.D. INSTRUCTOR, CAPSTONE COURSE	Melissa Nemon SIGNATURE	May 4, 2020 DATE

Acknowledgements

As someone doing research and community work in the housing field that deals much with property and land, I would like to first acknowledge that the land in what we now know as Boston was originally named Totaunt and was stolen from the Massachusett tribe (The Massachusett Tribe at Ponkapoag, 2019).

I would also like to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Melissa Nemon, whose guidance throughout this capstone project was pivotal to its completion. It is to her credit that I considered doing a program evaluation and felt supported throughout the process.

This evaluation would not have been possible without the partnership with Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation, Jason Desrosier, and the dedicated resident advocates of the neighborhood. Thank you for sharing your time and energy.

Also, I would like to thank all of the professors throughout my time at Merrimack who have helped strengthen my critical thinking and allowed me to explore topics that I am passionate about: Dr. Audrey Falk, Dr. John Giordano, Gregg Grenier, Dr. Jolan Rivera, and Gerardo Zayas Jr.

Finally, thank you to my partner Daniel Perez for his endless support and encouragement for me to pursue my interests.

Abstract

This program evaluation looks at the *Community Planning and You* workshop of the Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation in Boston, MA. The literature review explores the effects and responses to racialized housing policies, including the development of the community development field and its use of neighborhood organizing. The evaluation is grounded in the frameworks and theories of Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, Putnam's (1994) social capital, and Freire's (2018) use of popular education to develop Critical Consciousness. There are three key evaluation questions: 1) if participants increase their knowledge of the Article 80 process; 2) if participation in community processes has increased; and 3) if racial and socio-economic diversity in the Article 80 process has increased. Findings included participant increase in knowledge and participation in community process, but no increase in racial and socio-economic diversity.

Table of Contents

The People's Planning Initiative of Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation

Community Development Corporations have historically grown out of a need for residents to build power, expressing a form of consensus organizing (Cummings, 2001). In 1980 the Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation (ABCDC) was formed and was able to convert a historic school into affordable housing (Tartar, 2019). ABCDC has continued to develop and advocate for new affordable housing for neighborhood residents.

The Community Engagement department of ABCDC advocates for a more affordable Boston through resident engagement and leadership development. It offers workshops to support new and experienced community leaders to participate in the City of Boston's development approval process. One such workshop, *Community Planning and You*, focuses specifically on the Boston Planning and Development Agency's (BPDA) development review process, Article 80 and its formal avenues for resident input. The BPDA developed Article 80 in 1996, which could include a review of the proposed development's impacts on transportation, the environment, and the amount of affordable units and community benefits provided along with the project.

The *Community Planning and You* workshop was held in October 2018 with 32 attendees and again in October 2019 with 7 attendees. It is a two-hour workshop that makes the approval process for developments in Boston more accessible to residents. In addition to its educational focus, it emphasizes three opportunities for residents to be involved in the Article 80 process: writing comment letters, speaking at public meetings, and serving on Impact Advisory Groups (IAG's).

The workshop grew out of a resident request because they recognized that BPDA held Article 80 trainings for developers, but not for residents. Additionally, research by Einstein, Palmer, and Glick (2018) supported the need to diversify housing development community

meetings. They found that residents who participated in community meetings are "more likely to be older, male, longtime residents, voters in local elections, and homeowners" (p.29). Given that Allston Brighton is a diverse community, and is in need of affordable housing, the *Community Planning and You* workshop is a way to invite new residents into the process so that it can become more representative of the community and its vision for the future.

This program evaluation will examine the effectiveness of the intended outcomes of the *Community Planning and You* workshop. The primary goal is to ensure that residents have the opportunity and power to impact the housing development process in their neighborhood. Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation will be used as a way to explore the distribution of power between residents and government, with levels ranging from non-participation to citizen power. Freire's (1970) development of critical consciousness through popular education will guide the strategies of the workshop. Putnam's (1994) concept of social capital will be used to consider the networks between residents as a way to build agency for social change. Additionally, recommendations will be outlined for future *Community Planning and You* workshops that may be also applied to the broader People's Planning Initiative.

Literature Review

Housing in the U.S. and Boston

Today's displacement and gentrification are connected to a long history of housing policies that were based in overt racial and class discrimination. As early as the 1920's, housing policies encouraging discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, and class were legal and commonplace. These century-old practices have mostly been outlawed, yet have ramifications that are felt today. From the 1920's to 1948, racially restrictive covenants were a common tool,

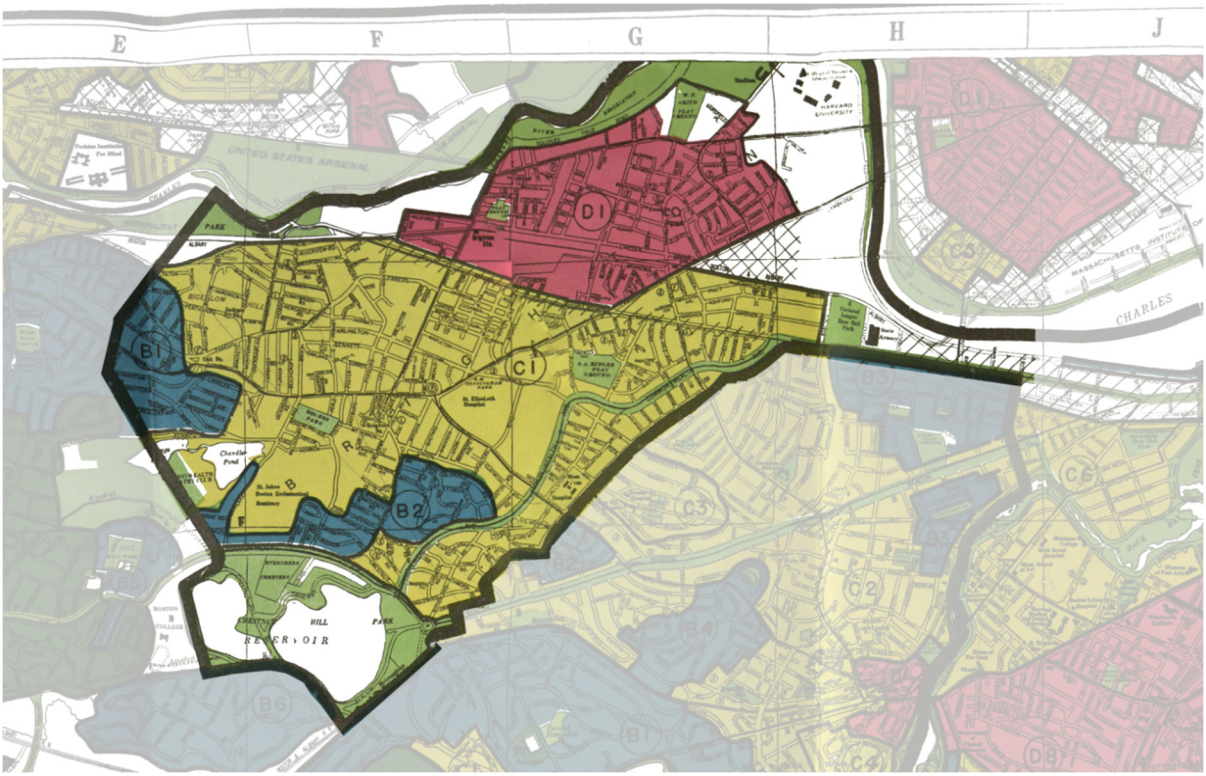
which served to prevent properties from being leased, sold, or occupied by certain racial groups, usually black residents (The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, n.d.). In 1948 racially-based covenants were deemed unconstitutional, and yet remained in practice until 1968.

In 1941, Boston built a public housing project in South Boston solely for white middle-class residents. It remained mostly segregated until 1962 when it faced a legal challenge to accept qualified black applicants (Rothstein, 2017). As white families took advantage of opportunities to move to the newly formed suburbs, black families were excluded and continued to rely on public housing. By the 1960's the real estate lobby was successful in shifting public policy from public housing for working- and middle-class families to house the poorest families, which "transformed public housing into a warehousing system for the poor" (Rothstein, 2017, p. 37).

For over thirty years, from 1934 to 1968, the U.S. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) used redlining practices whereby maps of urban areas were graded to indicate their desirability, dependent on residents' racial, ethnic, and class identities (Nelson, Winling, Marciano, & Connolly, 2019). Neighborhoods of color were marked red, indicating that the FHA should be extremely cautious in giving mortgages to any homebuyers in that area. This not only prevented homeownership for families of color, it also furthered the disinvestment of communities of color, and therefore generational wealth-building. In Boston there were few areas that were considered desirable. Allston was marked red, signifying "Hazardous" with a note saying, "Negro concentrated around Empire St. …originally a good section with some large houses now given over to rooming house use." Notes on the area also include, "detrimental influences: mixture of low-class occupants" and "Infiltration of foreign – negro". Brighton was marked yellow, meaning "Definitely Declining" with notes that there was an infiltration of

"Jewish and lower class". The only section of Allston Brighton that was marked "Still Desirable" was the area overlooking Chestnut Hill Reservoir, with "high class Jewish".

Image 1: Allston Brighton Redlining Map (1956)



Between 1960 and 1965, there was an influx of African Americans to Boston, while urban renewal was embraced, and the suburbs were being developed (The Fair Housing Center of Boston, n.d.). The development of Routes 128 and 495 allowed both families and employers to move to the suburbs. This furthered racial segregation and by 1970 all suburban towns, except Cambridge, were 98% white (The Fair Housing Center of Boston, n.d.). Practices that formed and protected racially segregated neighborhoods remain visible in Boston's neighborhoods today.

While discriminatory practices are no longer legal, there are still racialized barriers to homeownership for people of color. In 2017, when controlling for income, mortgage denial rates were much higher for people of color; 10.2% for blacks, 7.4% for Latinos, and 3.7% for whites

(Campen, 2018). The impact of systematic racialized housing policies goes beyond whether people of color have access to purchasing a home. This history must also be considered in the larger context of today's patterns of gentrification and displacement of long-term residents.

Gentrification and Displacement

The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964:

> [O]ne by one, many of the working class quarters have been invaded by the middle class - upper and lower… once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Danley & Weaver, 2018, p.2).

Gentrification has been further investigated and described as a process with unique stages. Schwirian (1983) explains two main models of neighborhood change: Invasion-Succession by the Chicago School and the Life Cycle Model by Hoover and Vernon. Invasion-Succession explains changes in neighborhood population, where newcomers who are socially or racially different are resisted by the established population. Limited housing and changes in land use drive competition between the groups, eventually leading to either the withdrawal of the newcomers, or the departure of established groups. The Neighborhood Life Cycle has five stages: development, transition, downgrading, thinning out, and renewal. As neighborhoods move through these stages (not always sequentially), the characteristics of the neighborhood change: population demographics, land use, population density, and housing conditions. There are four factors that can influence the movement from stage to stage: growth rates of new housing and population, accessibility to employment opportunities, the level of resident

resistance to change, and the role of public agencies in pursuing development or establishing regulations to control growth.

Smith (1979) challenges two predominant causes of gentrification that are derived from a consumer sovereignty theory. The first is a cultural shift away from suburbs toward urban areas, with young professional middle-class people having smaller families, delaying marriages, and seeking communities that encourage self-expression. The second is economic, where rehabilitation of older properties and shortening commutes attracts individuals into urban centers. However, this only takes into account the role of the gentrifiers and not those that have a key role in production, such as developers, public agencies, financial institutions, and landlords (Smith, 1979). For both gentrifiers and those that have a role in production, Smith (1979) argues that their main motivation is the potential for financial investment. If the rent gap (the difference between the value of land and the potential earnings in rent) is wide enough for economic gain, then it will inevitably fuel gentrification (Smith, 1979).

Gentrification also relates themes of racial exclusion, status, and affluence, with a focus on its main effect: the displacement or removal of poor people of color (Danley & Weaver, 2018). This disproportionately affects residents who are older, poor, and people of color (Rigolon & Nemeth, 2019). According to Danley and Weaver (2018), when residents have been excluded from development, feelings of fear, exclusion, and loss of community increase. Gentrification has led to broad anti-development sentiments, even when displacement is not a threat. Researching a previously predominantly black neighborhood of Washington D.C., Hyra (2015) points out the danger of loss of political power when newcomers enter a neighborhood and the impact of significant shifts in local political leadership. Additionally, Hyra (2015) found that "the combination of the political takeover and development of new amenities is associated

with fear, resentment and civic withdrawal among some long-term African-American residents" (p.1767). Entities that are well positioned to help address issues of displacement through resident engagement are community development corporations (CDC's).

Community Development Corporations

Community Development Corporations (CDC's) are place-based nonprofit organizations with a long history of advocacy for community's housing needs. According to the Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations (MACDC; 2020), CDC's "are a critical component of lasting and durable community change founded upon the principal that a community's residents can come together to effect change and to help transform their own neighborhood together". Typically the core focus of a CDC is affordable housing advocacy and development. Many take a holistic approach toward improving residents' economic stability with investment in workforce development, financial education, youth development, and support for local businesses.

One example of a prominent CDC in Boston is Madison Park Development Corporation. It was founded in 1966 by a group of resident activists in response to urban renewal in Lower Roxbury led by the City of Boston were destroying homes, places of worship, and businesses (Madison Park Development Corporation, 2020). MPDC is now the state's largest and oldest CDC, continuing its legacy of resident-driven solutions to neighborhood concerns.

Similarly, the now national NeighborWorks organization that has helped to support CDC's across the country was led by a resident who wanted to improve her neighborhood. Dorothy Richardson was a Black woman in Pittsburgh who petitioned local banks to restore deteriorating housing in the 1960's (NeighborWorks, 2020). She organized residents to protest the conditions of their neighborhoods that ultimately led to the creation of a new model for

community development. The history of the CDC field is important to recognize as we consider the role of CDC's in today's modern context. Resident-led solutions are at the center of its founding, and should remain central to today's work. However, the bureaucratic institutions and neighborhood associations that govern the development process typically do not fully embrace resident-led solutions or reflect the needs of those who are most impacted.

Governing Bodies within the Development Approval Process

The Boston Planning and Development Agency (BPDA), formerly the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), was formed in 1957 via state law, which transferred urban renewal powers from the Boston Housing Authority to the BRA (BPDA, 2019b). A few years later in 1960, the Boston Planning Board was dissolved and merged with the BRA, meaning the BRA became the city's official planning agency. Today the BPDA is governed by a Board of five members, four of which are appointed by Boston's mayor and one appointed by Massachusetts' governor. Additionally, the Director of the agency is appointed by the mayor (Mostue, 2014). Since the BPDA is primarily accountable to Boston's mayor, this can be a challenge for advocates to have influence on housing policy.

The BPDA has been criticized for its lack of transparency that prioritizes the needs of developers over the demands of residents (Borchers, 2019). Michelle Wu, current At-Large City Councilor and potential candidate for the next mayoral race, has called for the dissolution of the BPDA and transition of its work under city government. She states:

> We need to move away from a system of development where the process is based on special approvals and exceptions and one-off negotiations and instead empower communities to be part of planning a city that is actually livable for everyone (para. 9).

To consolidate and make consistent Boston's Zoning Codes, in 1996 Article 80 was formed (BPDA, 2019a). It is a formal process that includes review of transportation, environmental, design, and affordable features of proposed developments. A second formal venue for resident input is through Impact Advisory Groups (IAG). IAGs were formed in 2000, to work alongside the Article 80 process, where resident members provide input on mitigation and community benefits for large projects.

The Boston Zoning Board of Appeal (ZBA) is another important body in the development approval process. It oversees the 14 neighborhood and 18 downtown zoning codes so that buildings are either in compliance or receive zoning relief. The BPDA Board and ZBA are both points at which the public can influence decision making, and so they serve as opportunities for residents to express their vision for the neighborhood and whether the proposed development is in alignment.

There are two main neighborhood groups that make formal votes and recommendations on proposed developments. The Brighton Allston Improvement Association (BAIA) is a civic group formed in 1981, with the state goal to "obtain a greater degree of control for the residents of Brighton and Allston in the improvement and development of the community" (Brighton Allston Improvement Association, 2020). The Allston Civic Association (ACA) was formed in 1962 with the aim to "provide a regular consistent public forum for residents of the Allston-Brighton community to voice their individual ideas and concerns and to translate those ideas and concerns into effective, constructive action" (Allston Civic Association, 2020). The BAIA and ACA hold monthly meetings where community issues, including housing developments, are discussed and voted on for a formal stance. While these neighborhood associations are not part

of the formal development approval process, their stances have an impact on neighborhood opinion and are often cited by the BPDA during the Board approval stage.

Einstein, Palmer, and Glick (2018) showed a pattern of misrepresentation in development community meetings, where residents who participated were more likely to be white, older, male, and homeowners. If community input does not reflect the diversity of the neighborhood, the vision for the neighborhood will not be able to reflect those unique perspectives. One way to ensure that those who are most impacted by development are participating in the community process is through neighborhood organizing.

Neighborhood Organizing

The neighborhood is where each of us lives our lives and is the expression of municipal, state, and federal matters (Fisher, 1994). "A neighborhood is a locality with… special emotional and symbolic connotations for its inhabitants" (p.xix). As such, it is a powerful place for organizing, where residents can see and feel the immediate impacts of their participation.

According to Fisher (1994), neighborhood organizing is broken into three types: social work, political activist and neighborhood maintenance. In the social work approach, organizers serve as advocates for improved services and increased sense of community, and to some extent works in collaboration with systems of power. Typically the work is led by trained professionals with varying degrees of grassroots leadership. This approach tends to fall short of the need for systemic change that shifts power. The political activist approach focuses on "obtaining, maintaining, or restructuring power" (p.212). This could also mean the development of power through community-driven institutions. This work tends to involve community education around the neighborhood issue, building consensus, and mobilizing residents. Leaders tend to be less professionalized than in the social work approach and are from the neighborhood, and power is

challenged instead of collaborated with. Neighborhood maintenance usually focuses within residential boundaries and involves the upper and middle class. Usually members pay dues and formal groups work with politicians to achieve their priorities, focused on improving property values. This type of neighborhood organizing is typically found in the suburbs. Fisher (1994) suggests that:

> The best organizers are not the ones who are most skilled, energetic, forceful, but rather those who have a sense of both a larger vision and what is possible and combine this with the knowledge, ability, and skills of local people (p. 226).

Resident participation itself is typically not controversial. Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation clarifies the vague term of "participation" so that a power analysis is taken into consideration. The Ladder has three main categories: nonparticipation, degrees of tokenism, and degrees of citizen power. The lower levels of the Ladder demonstrate how participation itself does not imply resident power. As one climbs from nonparticipation toward citizen power, the residents are accountable to the community, able to negotiate with decision makers, and have decision-making abilities. The higher levels of resident power ensure that decisions are not being made on behalf of the community, thereby limiting the influence of other interests (financial, economic, and political). This is particularly important for communities that historically have not had the decision making power and have suffered for it.

According to Maurrasse and Bliss (2006), organizing is essential because "no democratic structure will work without informed, involved, and organized residents. In fact, it is probably not likely that effective equitable development will come to fruition without resident involvement" (p. 138). And so, resident organizing must be central to the work of CDC's in order to maintain democratic process and equitable development.

As a result, resident empowerment is necessary. Rappaport (1995) shares Cornell University Empowerment Group's definition of empowerment as "an intentional, on-going process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources" (p. 802). Further, the narratives that are held as members of particular communities can shape an individual's understanding of themselves. One's story, if considered a resource, can be a powerful tool toward empowerment at the individual and community level (Rappaport, 1995). While empowerment is clearly necessary for meaningful resident engagement, this works best when community leadership is constantly cultivated and grown so that empowerment can be led purposefully.

Community Leadership

Resident leaders are generally motivated by the level of impact that they are able to achieve (Borregard, 2019), rather than profits, status, or efficiency. Leadership can still conjure a very specific type of person but it is important to recognize that leadership comes in many forms. Referring to an organizer who had embraced decentralized leadership, researchers note, "she came to understand that she did not need to be in a position of formalized leadership for her work to be impactful" (Medellin, Speer, Christens, & Gupta, 2019). Perhaps what community-based leadership does best is embraces different types of leadership and encourages each individual to find their own style and voice. Not everyone is interested in dedicating their time and energy to get involved in issues that impact their neighborhoods. What initially draws individuals to neighborhood activism is "a strong sense of connection and ties to their community" (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007, 94). Some predictors of sustained resident involvement include: perception

of neighborhood problems, perception of neighborhood leadership, and participation in individual and collective actions (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007).

While some may stand behind the saying "leaders are born and not made", leadership, like many skills, can be learned, practiced, and developed (Branson, & Marra, 2019). Community organizing is rooted in developing leaders who then go out and develop more leaders, often folks who are not professionally trained to be organizers (Medellin, et al., 2019). Social movements and community organizing rely completely on the ability to develop leaders and to turn people out for action (Christens & Speer, 2011). Leadership is required at all levels within a social movement (Ganz 2010).

All people, no matter their experience are capable of some form of leadership. The focus for leaders is not just inward, instead they are looking outward to constantly be supporting others to grow and develop their own sense of leadership (Medellin et al., 2019). A first step to developing community leaders happens by inviting residents into a low-barrier public role, and through reflections on that experience, can continue to stretch in new growth experiences. This process is where individuals explore their passions and drives, learn to rely on intrinsic motivation, and increase their agency. Individuals must shift their understanding of themselves, not just as a participant but also as having some leadership capacity and ability to make change. According to the Support-Challenge Windowpane, during the growth process established leaders must give both appropriate levels of challenge and support to developing leaders (Taylor & Marienau, 2016, p.109).

The strength of a neighborhood's resident leadership is an indicator for their ability to respond to issues and create change (Foster-Fishman, Cantillon, Pierce, & Van Egeren, 2007). In fact, Foster-Fishman et al. (2007) found that community leadership is the strongest predictor of

the level of resident involvement in local issues. Another indicator of a community's ability to work together to create change is its level of social capital that has been developed and maintained.

According to Putnam (1994), social capital is made up of the "networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 7). Even further, social capital is essential to solving social issues (Putnam, 1994). With cooperation and buy-in from those affected, the issue at hand can be resolved. Communities flourish where social and political networks are strong. Social capital encourages reciprocity, trustworthiness, and helps to carry the story of community success to future residents. This social capital is grown out of a byproduct of social activities where residents are able to interact with one another and build trust. Communities that are impacted by poverty, crime, and other systemic injustices are more resilient when social capital and networks remain strong. Therefore, community organizing leaders who embrace social capital in their own lives and who intentionally incorporate it into their work will be more effective in building resilient communities that successfully advocate for change. Another way to develop an awareness of social issues and motivation to create change is through the development of critical consciousness and use of popular education.

Popular Education

Paulo Freire's concept of critical consciousness was developed in the 1970's in his work with Brazilian peasants (Glowacki-Dudka et al., 2017). It lies at the core of any work in social justice, because it deals with an individual's learning about themselves and their positionality within societal structures. Watts and Hipolito-Delgado (2015) use a developmental model to show the development of critical consciousness which is useful for application in a community-based context. There are four main components: Critical Social Analysis, Collective

Identification, Political Self-Efficacy, and Sociopolitical Action. Critical Social Analysis is the critical thinking necessary to challenge norms and beliefs, as well as the historical and institutionalized power structures that maintain power for the dominant groups. Collective Identification includes the shifting of an individual's social identity toward increased power, empowerment, and solidarity. Political Self-Efficacy is the increased desire to take action for social change. Lastly, Sociopolitical Action is the final stage where the previous three internal stages are expressed in a behavior, which is taking political action toward social equity. To encourage this developmental process toward critical consciousness, the recommended group structures are: small groups with high participation; the dismantling of hierarchical structures and increased horizontal communication; facilitators as guides not as experts; and modeling of "non-oppressive relationships" (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015).

Popular education is a model that can be implemented to complement the goals of developing of critical consciousness. The Highlander Center, formerly the Highlander Folk School, founded by Myles Horton in 1932 is known for its embrace of popular education and its pivotal role within the Civil Rights movement (Highlander Center, 2019). It supported efforts such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Citizenship Schools, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Popular education embraces alternative methods to explore social justice issues, such as arts, storytelling, and participatory action research (Glowacki-Dudka et al., 2017). It emphasizes the development of a learning community, where learning is democratic and shared among participants. Participants should have some control over the content of the workshop as well as the ways in which it is learned. This emphasizes collaborative learning and requires a high level of flexibility on the part of the facilitator. Additionally, the facilitator is not the expert that imparts knowledge, but instead is a part of the learning

community that helps guide discussions. Popular education also imbeds experiential learning through storytelling. Participants' experiences are extremely valuable and it keeps the material realistic and applicable. Other strategies include starting with icebreakers; providing a shared meal for continued conversation; sitting in a circle to promote equality; and allowing for quiet reflection time.

Using popular education methods to develop critical consciousness, in combination with community organizing, can lead to both individual and community level transformation. When individuals understand the systems of power and their relation to them, and then put that knowledge into action via organizing, it creates a potential for meaningful change. Power shifts to the residents and then they are better able to realize the vision of their community that leads toward social equity, particularly for those who have been most marginalized.

Housing We Can Afford

Over the past ten years, federal subsidized housing has not kept pace with the demand. The Urban Institute (2017) found that in the year 2000 in Suffolk County, MA, 58 rental units were available for every 100 extremely low-income households (ELI). In 2010, the units available increased to 61 units available per 100 ELI. This major gap makes it difficult for the poorest to find decent and affordable housing, especially when rent prices continue to increase. According to the US Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), 47.4% of renter households were cost burdened. Additionally, households with incomes under $15,000 have the highest cost burdens: 83% pay more than 30% of their income on rent (moderate cost burden), and 72% pay more than 50% (severe cost burden; JCHS, 2019). According to the 2015 ACS, 48.8% of renters in Greater Boston were moderately cost-burdened and 24.8% of renters in Greater Boston were severely cost-burdened (JCHS, 2015). Additionally, neighborhoods with a

"rent gap" are more prone to gentrification, due to the difference between the actual rent prices and potential rent prices (or more simply, potential profit; Weinstein, 2015).

In Allston Brighton, average rents have increased by 32% in just two years (ABCDC, 2019). A family earning the median income of $52,795 would need to pay 63% of its monthly income to afford the average rent in the neighborhood, which is well above the recommended 30% of one's income to be spent on housing costs. Individuals also face challenges to be housed in the neighborhood. For someone making minimum wage at $11 in 2018 (or $22,880 annually) it would be virtually impossible for them to afford a one-bedroom in Allston Brighton at the average cost of $1,801 per month ($22,880 annually; ABCDC, 2019).

A unique characteristic to the Allston Brighton neighborhood as compared to other Boston neighborhoods is its high level of transience. It is an important factor to consider because transience is detrimental to a neighborhood's sense of community and potentially its ability to respond collectively to external threats (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). According to the 2014-2018 American Community Survey, 80% of Boston residents lived in the same house one year ago, compared to 74% of Brighton residents and 60% of Allston residents (BPDA, 2020). Two factors may contribute to high levels of turnover: a high percentage of students (31% of residents are enrolled in either undergraduate or graduate/professional studies) and lack of homeownership opportunities (11% in Allston and 24% in Brighton, compared to 35% in Boston; BPDA, 2020).

Allston Brighton is ethnically diverse with immigrants from China, Russia, Brazil, and increasingly from Central America. The neighborhood is also linguistically diverse with 20 different languages spoken (ABCDC, 2019). The racial breakdown of Allston Brighton is 62% non-Hispanic white, 18% Asian, 12% Latino or Hispanic, 4% black or African American, and

4% other race or multiple races. It is also a young neighborhood; the median age in Allston is 26 and in Brighton it is 29, compared to 32 in Boston (BPDA, 2020)

Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation: *Community Planning and You*

In 1977 Brighton residents came together to prevent the Oak Square School, the last wood schoolhouse in Boston, from closing. It was then designated as a city landmark and despite the school eventually closing in 1981, the building could not be demolished. The newly formed Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation (ABCDC) was able to step in to buy the property and convert it into affordable residential units (Tartar, 2019).

The Allston Brighton CDC's mission is to "build a stronger, more stable community by representing and supporting the interests, engagement, and leadership of Allston Brighton's diverse communities, institutions, individuals, and families of all incomes" (Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation, 2019a). As a CDC, ABCDC is a nonprofit developer and is always seeking new opportunities to develop affordable housing. Aside from brick and mortar development, the organization's work falls into two areas. First, it maintains its 505 affordable units and supports the residents living in those income-restricted units. Resident Services runs a community center and offers a variety of programs to increase residents' economic security such as job fairs, after school programs, and tenants' rights workshops. Secondly, ABCDC supports residents of the broader Allston Brighton neighborhood to be able to remain in the neighborhood and to become more involved in affordable housing advocacy (Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation, 2019b). The Homeownership department offers a first-time homebuyer course and student loan counseling. The Community Engagement department leads the affordable housing advocacy and leadership development efforts. In 2018, ABCDC's

Community Engagement department engaged over 300 neighbors, supported 45 volunteers to take leadership roles, and graduated 19 residents from the Leadership Development Academy.

Community Planning and You is a workshop of the Community Engagement Department and is part of a larger program, the People's Planning Initiative, which is currently in formation. It aims to diversify the group of residents who participate in community processes so that Allston Brighton will experience less displacement, more affordable housing, and increase the community's sense of agency. *Community Planning and You* focuses on a part of Boston's development process because it is an opportunity for community members to express their opinions about a proposed development. For example, a developer who enters in the Article 80 process may receive overwhelming feedback from individual community members (via comments at public meetings or comment letters) that a building needs to have less stories, less dense, and more parking spots, and that they are concerned about the overloaded public transit system. The developer then may adjust the proposed project to reflect some of those changes. While there are many in the neighborhood that express their desire for higher levels of affordability, it is not an issue that has a strong voice to the point where it can influence developers to increase the number of income restricted Inclusionary Development Policy (IDP) units. So, the *Community Planning and You* workshop is an effort to both help people understand the process, increase the level of activity, and to diversify who is involved.

The idea for the creation of *Community Planning and You* was generated from a neighborhood resident that noticed the BPDA had a session for developers to better understand their development review process, but did not offer something for the city's residents (D'Alcomo, J., personal communication, September 27, 2017). The hope was that if the public

was more comfortable with the development review process, then perhaps more residents would get involved and become more racially and socioeconomically representative of the community.

Methodology

A program evaluation will be conducted on the *Community Planning and You* workshop and its impact on resident engagement and empowerment through interviews and surveys. The intention is to measure its ability to increase resident knowledge and activism with Boston's Article 80 development process. Additionally, the evaluation will provide recommendations to expand the workshop within the People's Planning Initiative, incorporate best practices from popular education and social justice education, and to provide opportunities for residents to take action.

Overview of Program Design and Framework

The People's Planning Institute (PPI) was under development in late 2019 and early 2020. It is comprised of a series of workshops that bring community members into the community process for residential development in Boston. One workshop, *Community Planning and You*, was first delivered in 2018 and again in 2019. It is now rolled into the larger PPI framework.

The workshop is free for anyone to attend but is targeted toward Allston Brighton residents who are interested in becoming more active in advocacy for affordable housing. Outreach has been mainly through the ABCDC email list of about 400 people who have been active in ABCDC-led efforts (affordable housing committee, events, and other workshops). Workshop information has also been posted on the ABCDC website, distributed as part of a

printed ABCDC resident newsletter, emailed to a neighborhood-wide Google group that has approximately 600 recipients, and shared via ABCDC's Facebook and Twitter accounts.

Community Planning and You is an overview of the Boston Planning and Development Agency (BPDA)'s Article 80 process. Currently, it consists of a two-hour workshop for residents to better understand Boston's Article 80 process. The workshop starts with introductions and then leads into a PowerPoint presentation. It covers the role of the BPDA, the basics of the Article 80 process, recent example projects in the neighborhood, the difference between small and large project review, Institutional Master Plans, and Planned Development Area review. Next is an overview of how residents can engage in the process: comments during public meetings, submitting written comments, and joining an Impact Advisory Group (IAG). Each of those three sections begins with some information from the presenter and then a community member shares their own experience in the process. Questions are held for the end. In the 2019 workshop an activity was added. Participants were broken up randomly into small groups and given a Project Notification Form (PNF), an application that explains the proposed development. Participants were given time to read through the PNF and look for an area of the project that they wanted to improve. Then someone from each group stood up and shared their group's opinion on the project. The goal of the activity was to become more familiar with reading PNF's and to practice what it might be like to share an opinion at a community meeting.

Short-term goals of the workshop include increasing residents' knowledge of the Article 80 process, increasing residents' awareness of how to get involved, increasing their desire to get involved, and an increase in participation in the process. A mid-term goal is to diversify the participation in the community process, and a long-term goal is to form a neighborhood that has been informed by community voice and is what the neighborhood has envisioned for its future.

Table 1: Community Planning and You Logic Model

Inputs	Outputs	Outcomes: Short-term	Outcomes: Mid-term	Outcomes: Long-term
• ABCDC Manager of Community Building & Engagement • Outreach materials (flyers, social media, email blast, newsletter blurb) • Curriculum (PPT, activities, etc.) • Printed handouts • Laptop, projector and screen • Space • Childcare • Interpretation • Refreshments • Allocated funds • Facebook livestream	• # attendees • # Facebook live views • # workshops held • # of participants who serve on an IAG • # of participants who submit public comment • # of participants who speak at public meetings • # of participants who attend another ABCDC workshop on development	• Increase knowledge of Article 80 process • Increased awareness of opportunities for activism • Increased desire to participate in Article 80 process • Increased desire to seek out information related to development in the neighborhood	• Increased participation in Article 80 process (submit a comment letter, sit on an IAG, speak at a public meeting) • Increased racial and socio-economic diversity within community process (meetings, IAG, comment letters), reflecting the diversity of Allston Brighton • Development becomes more reflective of Allston Brighton resident needs and vision (affordable, homeownership, and 2BR+ units)	• Strong sense of community • Decreased displacement • Increased community agency • Increased economic stability of residents • Decreased stress due to fear of displacement

Research Questions

The outcomes of focus for this evaluation are the short-term and mid-term outcomes: (1) increase knowledge of Article 80 process; (2) increase participation in the Article 80 process; and (3) increased racial and socio-economic diversity within the Article 80 process. Specifically, this evaluation seeks to determine if participants increase their knowledge of the Article 80 process; if participation in community processes has increased; and if racial and socio-economic diversity in the Article 80 process has increased.

Participants

Participants in this evaluation will consist of the 39 attendees of two *Community Planning and You* workshop sessions in October 2018 and October 2019.

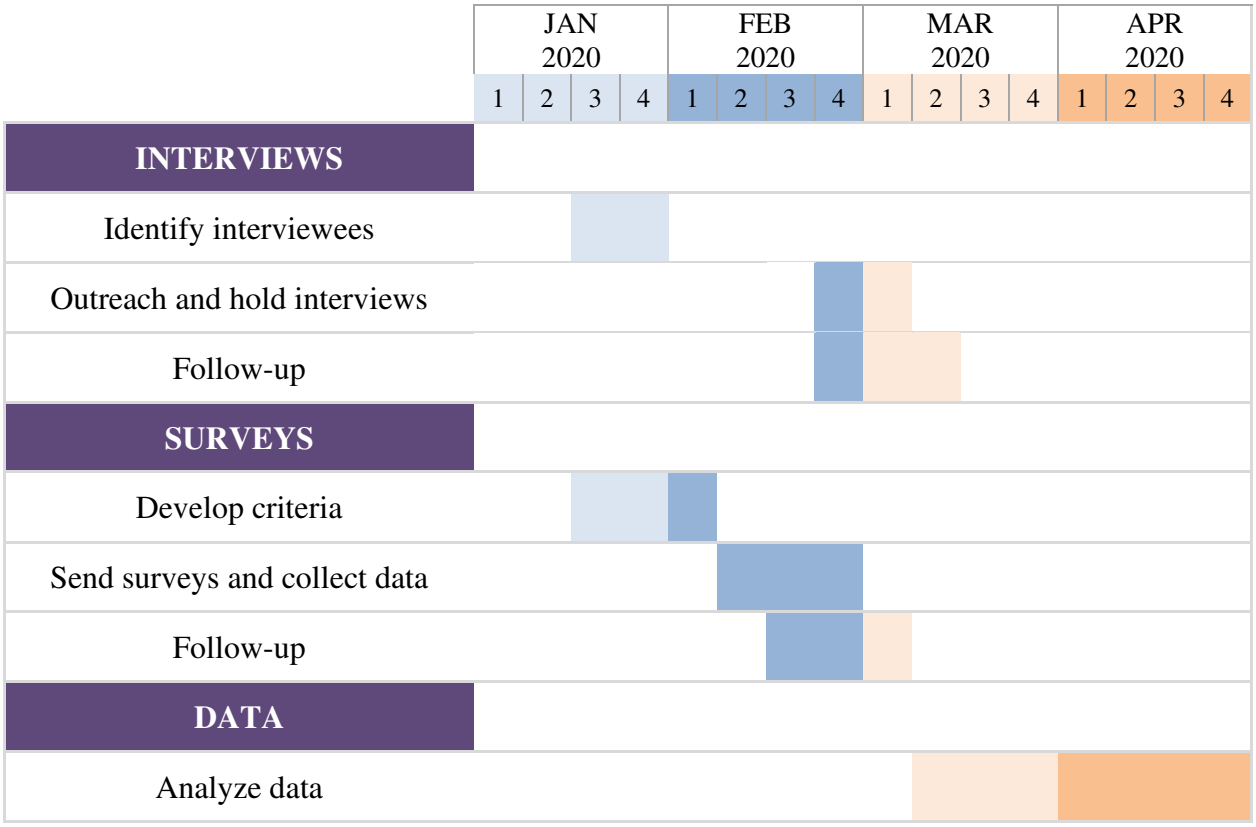
Design and Procedure

The survey will be designed by the program evaluator in close collaboration with the program leadership. The survey will be created online using Google Forms. The survey will be sent by program leadership and analyzed by the program evaluator. On Monday, February 24th the Manager of Community Building and Engagement will email the 39 participants an invitation to complete the survey. He will also send a reminder on Wednesday, March 8th and let recipients know that the survey will close on Friday, March 13th.

The interview questions will be designed by the program evaluator in close collaboration with the program leadership. The Manager of Community Building and Engagement will send email invitations to nine workshop participants for an in-person interview. These individuals were selected based on their continued interest in community development and their involvement in neighborhood development processes. The program evaluator will follow up with the invitations with a Doodle. Interested participants will be asked to complete the Doodle with a

time that they could meet for an hour for the interview. Time slots will be made available during the day, in the evening, and on the weekend between February 20th and March 5th. Six expressed interest and five were scheduled and held. Meetings were held wherever convenient for the participant, three at coffee shops, one at the participant's home and one at the ABCDC office. During the interview participants were asked for their consent to record the conversation, for note-taking purposes only. The recordings of those that gave consent will be deleted on April 30th. The interviewer used the Otto app to record and transcribe the conversations.

Implementation Timeline



Responsibilities Chart

NAME	RESPONSIBILITIES
Cassondra White, Evaluator	- Draft logic model following program outcomes - Establish the design and tools for the evaluation - Develop research questions - Create protocols for data collection - Identify the groups for data collection - Collaborate with program leadership to create survey
Jason Desrosier, Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation	- Identify the groups for data collection - Send notifications to groups / recruit participants - Offer space to conduct focus groups / interviews - Provide context and information for evaluation

Results

Data collection for this evaluation occurred between February and March of 2020. A total of seven workshop participants responded to the online survey and five workshop participants consented and gave an interview.

Survey

This survey was available online between February 24, 2020 and March 13, 2020. It was sent to 39 program participants. Seven (18%) participants responded.

This survey included 10 questions on demographic information. The racial and ethnic breakdown of the seven respondents was six Caucasian/White and one Multi-racial, including one Hispanic or Latino/Latina/Latinx. The gender breakdown was six female and one male. The age of respondents ranged from 30 to 69 with an average of 44. Five respondents were employed full time, one was unemployed and one was self-employed. The average household size was two persons; one respondent's household included children. Five respondents rent their home and

two own their home. The household income for respondents was one at $30,001 to $40,000, two at $50,001 to $60,000, two at $70,001 to $80,000, and one at $90,001 to $100,000.

The first four questions asked which neighborhood respondents lived in, how long they lived there, their overall satisfaction with the neighborhood, and why. Out of the seven respondents, four lived in Brighton and three in Allston. On average respondents had lived in their neighborhood for 16 years, with a range from two years to 39 years.

They were then asked to rate their satisfaction of their neighborhood on a range of very satisfied (1), satisfied (2), dissatisfied (3), and very dissatisfied (4). The average score was 1.6 (n=7) suggesting that they were satisfied to very satisfied with their neighborhood. Respondents were then asked to explain in their own words why they felt this way about their neighborhood. Positive responses included that they thought it was a good neighborhood (n=4), positive reactions to the diversity of the neighborhood (n=2), many opportunities for engagement (n=1), and the proximity to Greater Boston (n=1). Several respondents also mentioned concerns about their neighborhood including the public transportation system (n=3), housing (n=2), gentrification (n=1), the lack of green space (n=1), litter (n=1), an overabundance of students (n=1), and the lack of grocery stores (n=1).

The next section of the survey asked respondents about their participation and their belief in the ability of themselves and their community to enact change. The first set of questions asked respondents to answer whether they had participated in various community and civic activities in the past year. All seven had participated in a neighborhood or tenant association and six out of the seven respondents voted in the 2019 Boston City Council election. Five had participated in an organized community social event such as a festival, block party, or other celebration; supported a local political organization, candidate, or ballot initiative; and participated in an

advocacy group, such as a school parent-teacher association, environmental organization, or labor union. Four respondents noted they had personally taken action to improve the community such as reporting a hazard or contacting authorities about an incident; volunteered to help others in the community; and supported local business events, such as a sidewalk sale or "shop local" day.

Next, respondents were asked how much of a positive difference they felt they could make in their community on a scale of a great deal (1), a fair amount (2), some (3), and a little or none (4). The average score was 2.1 (n=7) suggesting that the respondent felt that they could make a fair amount of difference in their community.

Respondents were then asked how likely it would be for their community members to cooperate to solve a problem, on a scale from very likely (1), somewhat likely (2), somewhat unlikely (3), and very unlikely (4). The response was somewhat likely, with an average score of 1.9 (n=7).

Respondents were asked about their willingness to get involved and to work with others to make things happen on a scale from very willing (1), willing (2), somewhat willing (3), and not that willing (4). The average score was 1.4 (n=7) suggesting they were willing to very willing.

Lastly, respondents were asked to share in their own words a time when the neighborhood worked together to petition political leaders for something benefiting the community. Five respondents answered with varied responses including examples such as a bus lane (n=2), housing (n=2), public realm (n=2), and the district city council election (n=1). One respondent gave an example of a neighborhood improvement but noted their concern that the

people that were involved were not residents but rather were experts in the field or workers in the neighborhood.

The next section of survey questions focused specifically on the ABCDC's *Community Planning and You* workshop. First, respondents shared how they found out about the workshop with five answering word of mouth, three from a newsletter, and two from Facebook. Respondents were then asked if they had attended ABCDC's Leadership Development Academy (LDA) 101 or 201. One respondent had attended LDA 201 and the remaining five had not been to either (n=6). Respondents were then asked to rate the *Community Planning and You* workshop on a scale from Excellent (1) to Poor (4). The average score was 1.9, suggesting they thought it was good.

Participants were then asked about their motivation to attend the workshop and what they got out of it. First, participants were asked in their own words to describe why they wanted to attend the workshop. Four said that they wanted to learn about the Article 80 community process and its lingo; three wanted to learn more about effective advocacy; two wanted to learn more about issues impacting the community; and two wanted to find out how to take action.

The next section of the survey asked respondents about the workshop on a scale from strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), or strongly disagree (4). Whether respondents had a better understanding of the Article 80 process had an average score of 1.6 (n=7), suggesting they agree to strongly agree. If respondents knew some ways to get involved/express their opinions had an average score of 1.4 (n=7) suggesting again they agree to strongly agree. If respondents had a better understanding of why resident participation is important had an average score of 1.6 (n=7), suggesting they agree to strongly agree. Whether participants had a better understanding of the role of ABCDC had an average score of 1.6 (n=7), suggesting they agree to strongly agree.

Participants were then asked to describe in their own words what they saw as the main benefit for them for participating in the *Community Planning and You* workshop. All seven answered the question with benefits such as considering taking action (n=3); knowing how to get involved (n=2); information/knowledge (n=2); and meeting other active residents (n=1).

The last section of the survey asked respondents if they had taken action in the past year since the workshop. Five respondents had submitted comment letters and two had not. Five had attended a BPDA public meeting and two had not. Five had made a comment at a public meeting and two had not. Three had contacted their elected officials to express interest in serving on an IAG, two had not, and one responded that they will in the next month. Three had served on an IAG and four had not. All seven respondents had encouraged others to be involved.

Interview

Email invitations were sent to nine workshop participants, and five interviews were held (56%). The first questions in the interview were demographic about their neighborhood of residency, length of residency, and whether the participant owned or rented their home. One participant lived in Brighton and four lived in Allston. On average, participants lived in their neighborhood for 14 years with a range from 2 years to 37 (n=5). One owned their home and four rented.

Next participants were asked a couple of questions about their neighborhood. First they were asked about what they liked most about their neighborhood. Three participants responded with the diversity, community, proximity of services, and ethnic restaurants. Two participants responded with art and music, young people, and a feeling of being embedded. Other responses included long-term neighbors, and that the neighborhood is quiet, and eclectic (n=1). Participants were also asked about their main concerns about their neighborhood. Four talked about the rising

rents and unaffordability of housing. Three talked about their concerns with density (absorbing high numbers of new residents) and public transportation. Two responded with a concern about the change in amenities. Other responses included the impact of universities, lack of green space, displacement, litter, noise, the lack of families, traffic, unsafe biking, and lack of homeownership opportunities (n=1).

Next the participants were asked about the *Community Planning and You* workshop. First, they were asked what they hoped to get out of the workshop. Two wanted to increase their knowledge about zoning and two talked about getting more involved in the neighborhood. Other responses included formal learning and meeting like-minded people (n=1). Next participants were asked what they actually got out of the workshop. Three stated that they found out ways for people to get involved or felt more inclined to get involved. Two said that they met new people, better understood zoning, and saw a potential for change. Other responses included understanding power dynamics between the community and city; recognizing that not everyone will have the same opinion; and that it is important for young people, even if they have not lived in the neighborhood for a long time, to get involved (n=1).

Next participants were asked about what they liked most and wanted to see continued in the workshop. Three participants responded that the content of the workshop with detailed information on the Article 80 process should continue. Two responded with learning how to make an impact and the activity. One participant responded that they appreciated the materials to later reference. Participants were then asked what improvements they think could be made to the workshop. Two suggested having separate workshop sessions to meet the participants' different levels of expertise and to break the content into two sessions so that participants can dig in

deeper to the material. Other suggestions included: targeted outreach to residents of ABCDC and retirees; including an activity; and providing translation and child care (n=1).

The next section of the interview discussed community leadership. First participants were asked if they see themselves as having taken on a leadership role. Three participants said no because they are not doing as much as they had hoped (n=1), are lacking knowledge (n=1), or see themselves as more of a connector than a leader (n=1). Three mentioned being personally impacted by housing issues and/or they feel personally connected to the issue in some way. Two responded that they do see themselves in a leadership role but were not planning on it. Two said that they are interested in the topic area, referred to skills that they have gained or have shared, and have recruited others to attend meetings. Other responses included wanting to increase skills, being able to make an impact, being involved in other leadership roles in the neighborhood, and feeling more invested (n=1). Next participants were asked if they faced any barriers to becoming a leader or getting more involved. Two participants responded with work conflicts, knowing how to be most effective or knowing how to get involved, feeling intimidated at meetings, and feeling like they are making an impact and seeing results. Other responses include raising children, having the knowledge to participate, and being in transition (n=1). Lastly, participants were asked to describe a community leader. Four participants said listening as their first response. Four responded with being open minded. Three said assertiveness or persistence. Two said that community leaders are articulate or able to communicate clearly, bring others in, are energetic, and are always learning. Other responses included taking initiative, building trust, and that they are optimistic, mission driven, relatable, strategic, and organized (n=1).

The final question asked participants about their observations of the diversity of the neighborhood's public meetings. Four participants said that the meetings are not racially diverse

and mostly white people attend. Three participants noted that meetings are not diverse in age (mostly older folks) and are mostly homeowners. Other comments included that the meetings are not economically diverse and are mostly women. Two participants talked about shifts toward more diversity in reference to age and renters. Two participants noted potential barriers to a more diverse participation, such as time constraints for parents or folks who are working, and a lack of supports including child care, dinner, and broad access to meeting notifications that are in multiple languages. Another shared an experience where residents from subsidized housing were intentionally invited to a public meeting but very few actually attended. There was also mention of a broader neighborhood-wide shift with younger people renting to stay long-term instead of just temporarily.

Discussion

The goal of this evaluation was to examine the *Community Planning and You* workshop at ABCDC, and specifically to determine if there was an increase in knowledge of the Article 80 process among workshop attendees; an increase in participation in the Article 80 process; and an increase in the racial and socio-economic diversity within the Article 80 process.

Increase Knowledge of Article 80

Survey data and interviews show that workshop participants gained knowledge about the Article 80 process. On average, survey respondents said that they agree to strongly agree to gaining a better understanding of the Article 80 process. Additionally, two respondents said that the main benefit of the workshop was information or knowledge that they gained. In response to what they got out of the workshop, two interview participants said that they better understood

zoning. Three participants appreciated the detailed information on the Article 80 process provided at the workshop.

Two interview participants enjoyed the activity, and one participant suggested that an activity in future workshops would be helpful for people who are hands on learners. Popular education affirms that activities increase engagement, particularly when it is able to emphasize the individual's personal experience (Glowacki-Dudka et al., 2017). An interactive workshop will not only increase engagement, but allow participants to more deeply explore topic areas and thereby increase their knowledge. Thus, the format of future workshops might be restructured to allow more time for activities while limiting the more traditional lecture or classroom format.

One interview participant noted that the workshop drew two distinct types of attendees, those that were interested in community planning but did not have much exposure and those that had a lot of knowledge and experience participating in the community process. Future workshops should be mindful of this dynamic so that both types of participants are able to increase knowledge of the Article 80 process. Two interview participants suggested that a way to make this adjustment could be to offer distinct workshops for new and experienced participants. If this were the direction that ABCDC took, clear messaging during outreach would help to make the distinction. For example, workshop titles could be more specific like *Community Planning 101: What is Zoning and How Can I Participate?* and *Planning 102: Negotiating Community Benefits*. As the People's Planning Initiative continues to be built out with more robust workshop offerings, this could naturally attract more new participants to the *Community Planning and You* workshop while experienced participants are attracted to other topic areas.

Another way to bridge the divide between older and more experienced residents and younger and new residents is to create an intergenerational mentorship component to the

People's Planning Initiative. This could also help address what one interview participant noted as tension that sometimes exists between younger and older generations, particularly around topics of parking and density. The intentional sharing of information and experiences by residents who are more practiced would also emphasize the importance of sharing community knowledge, a principle of popular education (Glowacki-Dudka et al., 2017).

Increase Participation in the Article 80 Process

The survey results show that there was high participation in the Article 80 process after the *Community Planning and You* workshop. Out of seven respondents, five had submitted comment letters, attended a BPDA meeting, and made a comment at a public meeting. Three had expressed interest in serving on an IAG and had served on one. All seven respondents had encouraged others to be involved.

Watts and Hipolito-Delgado's (2015) framework states that three stages of internal work contribute to greater sociopolitical action. In order to further increase participation in the Article 80 process, each stage should be addressed within the *Community Planning and You* workshop or in the broader People's Planning Initiative. Critical Social Analysis could be incorporated by exploring the racialized and exclusionary zoning practices of the past and present. No data was collected to indicate whether participants felt a strong sense of Collective Identification. However, to build Collective Identification, the PPI might incorporate community building activities. Two interview participants and one survey respondent valued their new social connections made in the workshop. Adding community building activities would not only reinforce a collective identification, it would also increase the bonding type of social capital, which is made up of direct and strong ties between community members (Ohmer & DeMasi,

2009). Social capital is essential for a community to realize collective social change (Putnam, 1995).

Survey responses indicate that Political Self-Efficacy could be strengthened. When asked how much of a positive difference they felt they could make in their community, respondents felt they could make a fair amount of difference. When respondents were asked about their own willingness to get involved to work with others to make things happen, the average response was willing.

In order to have political self-efficacy, the ability to believe that one has power to make political change, and individual must have a strong sense of self-confidence (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). Three out of five people interviewed did not call themselves leaders. Yet, when interview participants were asked about leadership qualities, they talked about qualities of a pragmatic leader, someone who is trusted and is not necessarily the most vocal or visible (Ohmer & DeMasi, 2009). Participants said that a community leader is a listener (n=4), open minded (n=4), able to bring others in (n=2), and builds trust (n=1). Helping participants to reflect on different types of leadership and making connections between pragmatic leadership and their own leadership style may help to build their confidence and increase political self-efficacy.

Political self-efficacy also relates to Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation; as residents move from non-participation to citizen control, both decision making powers and resident accountability increase. The *Community Planning and You Workshop* could be one way that participants gain the tools and skills necessary to increase their decision making abilities. In that way community planning is not done on behalf of the community, rather by the community.

Structural changes to the workshop that might also increase critical consciousness via popular education are: horizontal communication; participant control over content; and

storytelling (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015; Glowacki-Dudka et al., 2017). Integrating participant control over content could be offering time at the beginning of the workshop to adjust the agenda, or through a pre-survey that gathers feedback on the topics that participants are most interested in. Storytelling is a powerful tool and could be an entirely separate workshop as part of the People's Planning Initiative, so that people feel comfortable telling their own story in a genuine and compelling way. There are also opportunities to bring storytelling into the *Community Planning and You* workshop during introductions and the panel.

When participants were asked about barriers to getting more involved, three participants talked about the challenge to balance priorities between family, work, and community involvement. One interview participant suggested that having workshops held online and available as an asynchronous resource could help reach people who have busy schedules but are interested.

Increase Racial and Socioeconomic Diversity Within the Article 80 process

There was no evidence to show that the racial and socio-economic diversity within the Article 80 process had increased. Four interview participants said that the meetings are not racially diverse and that mostly white people attend. This affirms the research of Einstein, Palmer, and Glick (2018) that showed residents who participate in community meetings are "more likely to be older, male, longtime residents, voters in local elections, and homeowners" (p.29).

To better work towards this goal of increased racial and socioeconomic diversity at public meetings, ABCDC could adapt or strengthen some of its strategies. This could include translated outreach materials; offering child care and interpretation at workshops; and offering the workshops on the weekend instead of on a week night. ABCDC might consider partnering

with the existing cultural/ethnic nonprofits in the neighborhood including Brazilian Women's Group, the Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers, and the Chinese Golden Age Center. To draw residents tied to those organizations, a workshop could be hosted at the partner site and workshops could be held in Portuguese and Chinese (instead of offering translation from English). ABCDC staff could also work with those organizations to identify any other barriers for their constituents (such as a cultural discomfort with speaking out against the government).

One interview participant suggested recruiting residents who live in ABCDC's affordable housing. This could be accomplished by in-person outreach at ABCDC properties or working with building leaders and ABCDC Resident Services staff to share workshop information. Changing the workshop space to the AllBright Community Center or one of the property's community rooms might also attract more ABCDC residents.

Lastly, ABCDC staff could consider how to work with current active residents to identify their own white privilege and how it might show up at community meetings. This might help to bring more self-awareness and to shift power dynamics in community meetings that are predominately white.

Other Observations

Five out of seven survey respondents found out about the workshop by word of mouth. Since it was the most effective strategy, it should be strengthened and built off of for future workshops.

One survey respondent said that they valued the proximity of the neighborhood to downtown and surrounding areas. Three survey respondents and three interview participants said that public transit was a major concern. Given residents' value and concern for public transportation, ABCDC could consider how to transit advocacy into its work.

Only one out of seven survey respondents had attended the ABCDC's Leadership Development Academy (LDA) 101. Perhaps participants of *Community Planning and You* would be interested in the LDA workshops, and vice versa.

Limitations

There were some limitations to this program evaluation. The workshop being evaluated was held in late 2018 and again in late 2019. While this gives time to demonstrate whether participants became active in the following year, the long length of time between the workshop and the evaluation means that participants may have had difficulty recalling their experience.

There may have been some self-selection for the participants that agreed to complete either the online survey or the in-person interview. Perhaps individuals who have the time and energy to participate in the program evaluation are also more likely to get involved in the community, have time to attend meetings, etc.

It is also worth pointing out that there is a very limited pool of workshop participants to pull from. Additionally, the low response rate to the online survey meant that the data collected could not be parsed out by demographic information or used to make broader generalizations and find themes.

Lastly, both the online survey and the in-person interviews were solicited by the Manager of Community Development and Engagement of ABCDC who was the facilitator of the workshops. The program evaluator had previously met and worked with four out of five interviewees as the Graduate Fellow of the organization. It is possible that participants may have been hesitant to share feedback with the organization itself and not a third party.

It was challenging to measure whether the racial and socioeconomic diversity of participants at Article 80 meetings increased. Interviews provided limited data and only gave observational impressions, which is not a reliable measure for race or class.

Implications

For future considerations, perhaps ABCDC could work with an unassociated third-party. This would help participants feel that any information or feedback shared is completely confidential.

To help increase survey responses, future evaluations could incentivize participation and offer the evaluation closer to the workshop date. The survey itself was long and required 15-20 minutes to complete, which may have deterred some participants from completing it. An evaluation tool could be integrated to each workshop to collect immediate feedback as well as a 3-month or 6-month follow-up to capture data on behavior change. Collecting more data would give more depth, as well as help to answer the third evaluation question about increasing racial and socioeconomic participation in the Article 80 process. With more data, the evaluator could stratify race and class with actions taken.

Topical areas to further explore could include participant motivations for action, participant understanding of their role in social change, participant perception of neighborhood leadership, and participant perception of resident involvement in neighborhood change.

References

Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation. (2019a). *About Us.* Retrieved from https://allstonbrightoncdc.org/about/

Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation. (2019b). *Rising rents, closing doors: A profile of housing in Allston Brighton*. Retrieved from: https://allstonbrightoncdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/FINAL-Rising-Rents-Closing-Doors-Report.pdf

Allston Civic Association. (2020). *About Us.* Retrieved from: http://www.allstoncivicassociation.org/about.html

Arnstein, S. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 35*(4), 216-224. doi:10.1080/01944366908977225

Borchers, C. (2019, October 7). Boston Planning and Development Agency would dissolve under Wu proposal. *WBUR.* Retrieved from https://www.wbur.org/bostonomix/2019/10/07/bpda-planning-zoning-wu-plan

Borregard, A. R. (2019). Grassroots leadership: Organizing for ethical change. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, *185,* 107-115. doi:10.1002/cc.20343

Boston Planning and Development Agency. (2020). *Boston in context: 2020.* Retrieved from http://www.bostonplans.org/research/research-publications

Boston Planning and Development Agency. (2019). *What is development review? Boston's Article 80 process.* Retrieved from: http://www.bostonplans.org/projects/development-review/what-is-article-80

Boston Planning and Development Agency. (2019b). *About us.* Retrieved from http://www.bostonplans.org/about-us/timeline

Branson, C. M., & Marra, M. (2019). Leadership as a relational phenomenon: What this means in practice. *Research in Educational Administration & Leadership, 4*(1), 81-108. doi:10.30828/real/2019.1.4

Brighton Allston Improvement Association (2020). Home [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/BAIAonline

Campen, J. (2018). Changing patterns XXV: Mortgage lending to traditionally underserved borrowers and neighborhoods in Boston, Greater Boston, and Massachusetts, 2017. *Massachusetts Community and Banking Council.* Retrieved from http://mcbc.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/CP25-Final-Report-Nov2018.pdf

Christens, B. D., & Speer, P. W. (2011). Contextual influences on participation in community organizing: A multilevel longitudinal study. American Journal of Community Psychology, *47*, 253-263. doi:10.1007/s10464-010-9393-y

City of Boston. (2019). *Zoning Board of Appeal*. Retrieved from https://www.boston.gov/departments/inspectional-services/zoning-board-appeal

Cummings, S. L. (2001). Community economic development as progressive politics: Toward a grassroots movement for economic justice. *Stanford Law Review*, *54*(3), 399-493. doi:10.2307/1229464

Danley, S., & Weaver, R. (2018). "They're not building it for us": Displacement pressure, unwelcomeness, and protesting neighborhood investment. *Societies, 8*(74), 1-16. doi:10.3390/soc8030074

Einstein, K. L., Palmer, M., & Glick, D. M. (2018) Who participates in local government? Evidence from meeting minutes. *American Political Science Association, 17*(1), 28-46. doi:10.1017/S153759271800213X

Fisher, R. (1994). *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America.* New York, NY: Twayne Publishers.

Foster-Fishman, P. G., Cantillon, D., Pierce, S. J., & Van Egeren, L. A. (2007). Building an active citizenry: The role of neighborhood problems, readiness, and capacity for change. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 39*, 91-106. doi:10.1007/s10464-007-9097-0

Freire, P. (2018). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc.

Ganz, M. (2010). Leading change: Leadership, organization, and social movements. In N. Nohria & R. Khurana (Eds.), *Handbook of leadership theory and practice: A Harvard Business School centennial colloquium* (pp. 1-42). Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Glowacki-Dudka, M., Mullett, C., Griswold, W., Baize-Ward, A., Vetor-Suits, C., Londt, S.C., &Williams-Hawkins, M. (2017). Walking the talk: Expectations and intentions of a popular education workshop. *Journal of Experiential Education, 40*(4), 377-393. doi:10.1177/1053825917712733

http://apps.urban.org/features/rental-housing-crisis-map/

Highlander Center. (2019). *Our History.* Retrieved from https://www.highlandercenter.org/our-history-timeline/

Hyra, D. (2015). The back-to-the-city movement: Neighborhood redevelopment and processes of political and cultural displacement. *Urban Studies, 52*(10), 1753-1773. doi:10.1177/0042098014539403

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2015). *Millions of Americans Burdened by Housing Costs in 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/son2017-housing-cost-burdens-table

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2019). *The State of the Nation's Housing: 2019.* Retrieved from https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/state-nations-housing

Madison Park Development Corporation (2020). *A History of Community Development: Making a Difference.* Retrieved from http://www.madison-park.org/who-we-are/history/

Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations (2020). *CDC Theory of Change.* Retrieved from https://www.macdc.org/cdc-theory-change

Maurrasse, D. J. & Bliss, J. B. (2006). Comprehensive approaches to urban development: Gentrification, community, and business in Harlem, New York. *Northwestern Journal of Law & Social Policy, 1*(1), 127-147.

McMillan, D. W. & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology, 14*, 6-23.

Medellin, P. J., Speer, P. W., Christens, B. D., & Gupta, J. (2019). Transformation to leadership: Learning about self, the community, the organization, and the system. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 1-21. doi:10.1002/jcop.22236

Mostue, A. (2014, December 10). Walsh makes Brian Golden permanent BRA director. *WGBH*. Retrieved from www.wgbh.org

NeighborWorks. (2020). *Discover some little-known facts about the woman who inspired NeighborWorks.* Retrieved from https://neighborworks.org/Blog/Discover-the-woman-who-inspired-NeighborWorks

Nelson, R.K., Winling, L., Marciano, R., & Connolly, N. (2019). *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America.* [Data file and GIF map]. Retrieved from https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/

Ohmer, M.L., & DeMasi, K. (2009). *Consensus Organizing: A Community Development*

Framework. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Putnam, R.D. (1994). Social capital and public affairs. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 47*(8), 5-19.

Putnam, R.D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy, 6*(1), 65-78.

Rappaport, J. (1995). Empowerment meets narrative: Listening to stories and creating settings. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 23*(5), 795-807.

Rigolon, A., & Nemeth, J. (2019). Toward a socioecological model of gentrification: How people, place, and policy shape neighborhood change. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 41*(7). 1-23. doi:10.1080/07352166.2018.1562846

Rothstein, R. (2017). *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of how our Government Segregated America.* New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation.

Schwirian, K.P. (1983). Models of neighborhood change. *Annual Review of Sociology, 9*, 83-102.

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 45*(4), 538-548. doi:10.1080/01944367908977002

Tartar, S. (2019, February 14). Our origin story. *Allston Brighton Community Development Corporation.* Retrieved from https://allstonbrightoncdc.org/our-origin-story/

Taylor, K., & Marienau, C. (2016). *Facilitating learning with the adult brain in mind: A conceptual and practical guide.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston (n.d.). Historical shift from explicit to implicit policies affecting housing segregation in Eastern Massachusetts. Retrieved from https://bostonfairhousing.org/timeline/

The Massachusett Tribe at Ponkapoag (2019). Welcome to Our Website. Retrieved from http://massachusetttribe.org/

Urban Institute (2017). *Mapping America's Rental Housing Crisis*. Retrieved from

Watts, R. J., & Hipolito-Delgado, C. P. (2015). Thinking ourselves to liberation? Advancing sociopolitical action in critical consciousness. *Urban Review, 47*, 847-867. doi:10.1007/s11256-015-0341-x

Weinstein, H. (2015). Fighting for a place to call home: Litigation strategies for challenging gentrification. *UCLA Law Review, 62*(3), 795-832.

Appendix A: Survey Tool

Community Planning and You Survey

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. It should take you about 15-20 minutes. All responses will be kept anonymous and confidential.

First, we'd like to know your thoughts about living in your community.

1. In which neighborhood or city do you live?
   O Allston
   O Brighton
   O Other: _____

2. For how many years have you lived in this community? _____

3. Overall, considering everything, how satisfied would you say you are living in this community?*
   O Very satisfied
   O Somewhat satisfied
   O Somewhat dissatisfied
   O Very dissatisfied

4. Please describe why you feel this way.
   _____
   _____
   _____

5. During the past year did you participate in the following community/civic activities?

	Yes	**No**	**Not applicable**
Participated in a neighborhood or tenant association.	O	O	O
Volunteered to help others in the community.	O	O	O
Supported local business events, such as a sidewalk sale or "shop local" day.	O	O	O
Participated in an organized community social event, such as a festival, block party, or other celebration.	O	O	O
Supported a local political organization, candidate, or ballot initiative.	O	O	O
Participated in an advocacy group, such as a school parent-teacher association, environmental organization, or labor union.	O	O	O
Personally took action to improve the community, such as reporting a hazard or contacting authorities about an incident.	O	O	O

Voted in the 2019 Boston City Council election.	O	O	O

6. How much of a positive difference do you feel that you, yourself, can make in your community? *
   O A great deal
   O A fair amount
   O Some
   O A little or none

7. If there was a problem in this community, how likely is that people will cooperate to try to solve the problem?
   O Very likely
   O Somewhat likely
   O Somewhat unlikely
   O Very unlikely

8. Right now, how willing are you to become involved in your community by working with others to make things happen?
   O Very willing
   O Willing
   O Somewhat willing
   O Not that willing

9. Can you share an example of when people in this neighborhood worked together to jointly petition government officials or political leaders for something benefiting the community?
   _____
   _____
   _____

Next, we'd like to ask you a few questions about why you got involved with the workshop and the BPDA process, as well as how it has helped you.

10. How did you find out about the ABCDC workshop? (Check all that apply.)
    □ Facebook
    □ Twitter
    □ Email newsletter
    □ Word of mouth
    □ Other: _____

11. Have you been to either Leadership Development Academy 101 or 201?
    O Yes, LDA 101
    O Yes, LDA 201
    O Yes, both LDA 101 & 201
    O No, I have not been to either.

12. Overall, how would you rate the Community Planning and You workshop? *
    Excellent (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) Poor

13. Why did you want to attend the "Community Planning and You" workshop? *
    _____
    _____

14. Please respond with how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: *

	Strongly agree	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
I have a better understanding of the Article 80 process.	O	O	O	O
I know some ways that I can get involved/express my opinions.	O	O	O	O
I have a better understanding of why resident participation is important.	O	O	O	O
I have better understand the role of Allston Brighton CDC in Allston Brighton.	O	O	O	O

15. What do you see as the main benefit to you for participating in the Community Planning and You workshop? *
    _____
    _____

Next, we would like to understand what community actions you have taken since the workshop.

16. Please indicate if you have done any of the following: *

	Have done	**Will do in the next month**	**Have not done**
Submit comment letters.	O	O	O
Attend a BPDA public meeting.	O	O	O
Make a comment at a public meeting.	O	O	O
Contact my elected officials to express my interest in serving on an Impact Advisory Group (IAG).	O	O	O

Serve on an Impact Advisory Group (IAG).	O	O	O
Encourage others to be involved.	O	O	O

Lastly, please tell us a bit about yourself.

17. Do you currently rent your home or do you own it?
    O I rent my home
    O I own my home
    O I live with family or friends
    O Other:_____

18. Including you, how many people 18 years of age or older live in your household? _____

19. How many children under 18 years of age live in your household? _____

20. What is your age? _____

21. How would you define your gender? (Check all that apply.) *
    □ Male
    □ Female
    □ Non-binary/third gender
    □ Prefer not to say
    □ Other: _____

22. Do you identify as transgender?
    O Yes
    O No
    O Prefer not to say

23. Do you consider yourself to be Hispanic or Latino/Latina/Latinx?
    O Yes
    O No

24. Which best defines your race?
    O Black / African American
    O Caucasian / White
    O American Indian / Aleut / Eskimo / Alaska Native
    O Asian
    O Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander
    O Multi-racial

25. What is your current employment status?
    O Employed full time (40 or more hours per week)
    O Employed part time (up to 39 hours per week)
    O Unemployed and currently looking for work
    O Unemployed and not currently looking for work
    O Student
    O Retired
    O Homemaker
    O Self-employed
    O Unable to work

26. What is your household income?
    O Under $20,000
    O $20,001 - $30,000
    O $30,001 - $40,000
    O $40,001 - $50,000
    O $50,001 - $60,000
    O $60,001 - $70,000
    O $70,001 - $80,000
    O $80,001 - $90,000
    O $90,001 - $100,000
    O More than $100,000

Thank you for completing the survey! We appreciate your time and feedback. We will share the results from this survey at a later community meeting.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Cassie White, Allston Brighton CDC

This program evaluation for Allston Brighton CDC's Community Planning and You workshop involves the audio recording of your interview with the researcher. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audio recording or the notes.

Only the interviewer will be able to listen to the recording. The recorded interview will only be used by the interviewer for the purpose of notetaking and the recording will be erased once notes are complete.

At any point in the interview you may request that the recording be erased if you wish to withdraw your consent to recording.

By signing this form you are consenting to:

- having your interview recorded; and
- to having notes drawn from the recorded interview.

This consent for recording is effective until April 30, 2020. On or before that date, the recorded interview will be destroyed.

Participant's Signature _____ Date_____

Appendix C: Interview Protocol

Welcome: My name is Cassie and I want to thank you for volunteering to take part in this interview with me. I understand you are a very busy person and I truly appreciate your time. This interview should take no more than an hour.

Introduction: I am representing the Allston Brighton CDC. The purpose of this interview is to gather information about your thoughts and experiences with the Article 80 workshop. Do you have any questions about the purpose of this interview?

Confidentiality: By voluntarily attending this interview you are agreeing to participate but I would also like to assure you that our conversation will be confidential. Any information shared here will not be shared by name. There will be a series of interviews and all data will only be discussed with Allston Brighton CDC in aggregate.

Everything is Voluntary: If you feel uncomfortable during the discussion, you have the right to leave or to pass on any question. There is no consequence for leaving. Being here is completely voluntary.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Would you consent to me recording this session solely for the purposes of note taking? I will delete the recording after I have transcribed the notes.

> **YES:** Please have them sign a consent form
>
> **NO:** You cannot record.

First, let's start with some introductions…

- Where do you live?
- For how long?
- Rent/own?
- What do you like most about your neighborhood?
- What are your main concerns about your neighborhood?

Next, let's talk about the workshop…

- Why did you attend the workshop?
- What did you get out of it?
- What did you like about the workshop that you think should be continued?
- What could be removed or changed?

Lastly, can we talk about leadership in the community?

- Have you taken on a leadership role?
    - If no, are you interested in doing so?
    - If yes, please explain.

- Have you experienced any barriers to getting more involved? Or barriers to taking on a leadership role?
- What are your observations about the diversity of who is most involved in the BPDA public process?
- What do you think makes a good community leader?

Concluding Question: Is there anything else about either the workshop or community leadership that you think is crucial for Allston Brighton CDC to know? Or anything else you would like to share with me?

Conclusion: Thank you for participating in today's interview. This has been very helpful in understanding the impact of the workshop and the views of community leadership in general. If you think of any additional thoughts or comments that you would like to share, please feel free to contact me at intern@allstonbrightoncdc.org. As a final reminder, any comments by you individually will be confidential. We will only use general, aggregated data from all interviews. Any last questions?

Thank you and have a great day!